1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

removed and eaten immediately. I am told that the truer native process of 252
makiko is to ripen the breadfruit by digging a hole about two inches long in the fruit, where the stem has been knocked off, and filling it with the juice and pounded leaves of the *papa vahana* (*Phaseolus amoenus*). The breadfruit (*mei*) is left standing on end, so that the juice runs down the core and ripens the flesh. When it is thoroughly ripe, the skin may be peeled off with the fingers. After kneading the flesh and removing all the lumps, it is mixed with cooked *ma*. The whole is wrapped in *ti* leaves in long bundles and baked in the usual oven. *Makiko* is often fed to new-born children.

Feikai mei.—In the old days Marquesans seem not to have been very [263] ●
fond of sweets—nor indeed of any marked seasonings for that matter. The *feikai mei*, however, which they make today and have made for some time, utilizes the honey of bees and seems distinctly to take its place as a dessert, though the natives make a meal of it when they eat it. The milk is squeezed from the grated flesh of about forty coconuts and mixed with sufficient honey to turn the liquid a rich brown. Meanwhile, about thirty breadfruit have been roasted on the wood fire, peeled of their charred skins, and wrapped in fau leaves to keep them hot. Baskets of coconut leaves, about two and a half feet deep by a foot and a half in diameter, are plaited and lined with banana leaves, those of the *meika mao'i* (one of the native bananas) being the best. It should be explained that these leaves are always laid across the hot coals for a short while to scorch and temper them, and after the midribs are shaved thin the leaves are as pliable as rubber. Into these baskets, layer by layer, is laid the flesh of the breadfruit, broken away from the hearts (which are of course thrown away), and gradually the mixture of coconut milk and honey is added until each basket is filled. A few taro, halved or quartered, are placed on top, and the whole is covered with a banana leaf tied tightly around the mouth of the basket. The baskets are placed in the oven and left for about six hours. When removed, the confection is hard, and covered with a coagulated sweet sauce.

Feikai vaihopu.—Slightly different is the making of the *feikai vaihopu*, also a confection of the *mei* picking time—there are local variations of method in Nuku Hiva. After the breadfruit has been picked and left three days, until the skin can be stripped off with the fingers, the flesh is put in *fau* bark (*apoa*) to ripen, the gluey sap of the bark penetrating the flesh and coloring it a beautiful brown. When soft and ripe it is mixed with coconut milk, and put in square-meshed nets made of green fau bark. These are about two feet deep and a foot and half in diameter and are lined with banana leaves. When they are full, they are pulled up at the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

DISHES ACCOMPANYING BREADFRUIT

252 With the gradual souring of the *ma* through long keeping, the native palate feels the need of accompanying dishes to take the edge off the vinegary preparation. Coconut milk counteracts the acid and is often mixed with the *popoi ma*, sometimes without water, sometimes with. On Hiva Oa, this is called *popoi kao'e* or *ko'ehua* or *nahau;* in Nuku Hiva, *popoi hakauo.*

251 252 The ideal accompaniment of *popoi hakavo* is skate (*fafaua, Raia cephaloptera*) or shark, of which two species are used as food by the natives, *peata* (*Squalus carcharias*) and *mano* (*Squalus maou*). Both of these great fish are treated in the same fashion except that, as the wings of the skate do not spoil, they are hung up to dry without being treated, and are left conveniently hanging for anyone to cut off a piece to chew whenever he wishes. The bodies of the fish, however, are cut into small cubes, salted and wrapped in fau leaves, preferably those in which *ma* has been cooked, as the fish seems to keep better in these cooked leaves. though on Hiva Oa it is often wrapped in the clothlike sheath at the base of the coconut leaf stem. These packages of fish—often as many as sixty are made at a time—will keep for months without decomposing, though they emit an odor like ammonia. When a package is opened, the fish is rinsed in sea water and eaten with *popoi hakauo,* its strongly acid, peppery taste harmonizing with the deacidized *popoi.* Skate is sometimes eaten raw with sea water the first day after it is caught, but not later. It should be remarked that in the old days salt for salting the few fish that were so preserved was obtained from sea pools left by the tides and evaporated by the sun. On Nuku Hiva, the natives tell of an old salt mine.

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252 [222] According to Jardin, certain lichens and sea weeds are eaten with *popoi: imu nanie, imu veve, imu kanayoi, imu topua* (15, pp. 55-7). *Popoi ma* is also eaten with raw fish, never at present by tearing the fish with the teeth as I have seen it done in the Tuamotu Islands, but by cutting it into cubes and soaking it in sea water. Nowadays, following the Tahitian custom, the natives add the juice of the lime which partly cooks it. According to Melville (23, p. 236), however, the cruder method of eating fish was once in vogue, for he says:

> I grieve to state so distressing a fact, but the inhabitants of Typee were in the habit of devouring fish much in the same way that a civilized being would eat a radish, and without any more previous preparation. They eat it raw; scales, bones, gills, and all the inside. The fish is held by the tail, and the head being introduced into the mouth, the animal disappears with rapidity that would at first nearly lead one to imagine it had been launched bodily down the throat.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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The Kava is a root possessing an intoxicating quality, with which the chiefs are very fond of indulging themselves. They employ persons of a lower class to chew it for them, and spit it into a wooden bowl; after which a small quantity of water is mixed with it, when the juice is strained into a neatly polished cup, made of a cocoa-nut shell, and passed round among them. It renders them very stupid and averse to hearing any noise; it deprives them of their appetite, and reduces them almost to a state of torpor; it has also the effect of making their skin fall off in white scales, weakens their nerves, and no doubt brings on a premature old age. They applied the word kava to every thing we ate or drank of a heating or pungent nature. Rum and wine was called kava; pepper, mustard, and even salt, with the nature and use of which they are entirely unacquainted, were called kava, as was also our spittle. A mineral water of a strong taste, several springs of which are to be found on the island, and are held in high estimation by the natives for the cure of scrofulous and some other complaints, is called *vie kava*.

The bread fruit tree has been so often and so minutely described by other voyagers, that a description of it here may be thought by some superfluous. Their fruit-trees, except those which are tabbooed, are without enclosure; their smaller and more delicate plants, as well as their roots, have only a wall to prevent the depredations of hogs. Their houses are open in front, and their furniture, many parts of which are of great value to them, is entirely exposed. Their hogs are wandering in every part of the valley; their fishing nets and their clothes are left exposed on the beach, and spread on the grass; no precautions are taken to guard against theft, and I therefore conclude that thefts among themselves are unknown.

During our operations at the camp, where carpenters, coopers, armourers, sail-makers, &c. were employed, it is natural to suppose that small tools, and articles of great value, were exposed to the natives. As from sunrise to sunset the camp was perfectly invested with them, it would have been impossible to prevent, or to have detected thefts, had they been so inclined. But as numerous as they were, constantly assisting us in our labours, mixing with our men, sitting for hours, eyeing with the greatest attention the different works, carrying, or handling and examining tools of every description, entering our tents and houses, performing for us many domestic services, assisting us in our wars, carrying for us our arms, our clothing, and provisions, being absent from us whole days with those precious things, still, during our stay, no article was ever missed by any person, except some trifles which were pilfered from the sailors by the girls, and this was, in all probability, in retaliation for the tricks which

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The characteristics of the rarer type of tiki headed pounder (Pl. LIV, *A*) are as follows:

The features are carved in high relief and the whole effect is that of two heads made in the round and placed back to back, the faces projecting out beyond the oval neck at either end. The mouth is narrower than in faces of the common type and has a greater vertical width. The lips are thin and rounded and the tongue broad and prominent. The nose is small and almost naturalistic in its proportions, and juts out from the face. The eyes are large, with upper and lower edges of differing curve, a high rim, and a well marked longitudinal ridge across the eye ball. They are directed to the side, and the rear corners slope downward and backward so steeply that the ears, shown as simple hooks are at the level of the corners of the mouth. The top of the head is rounded and only slightly higher than the upper edge of the eye rings.

The finding of three specimens of practically identical form seems to indicate that these objects constituted a distinct type, but the natives can give no information on this point. The convention of the carving differs considerably from that employed on any other artifacts but is reminiscent of that of certain large stone heads used as architectural decorations. Pounders of this sort are certainly pre-European and it seems probable that they either had a special ceremonial significance, or were the product of some local school of carving which became extinct at an early time.

POUNDERS FOR INFANT FOOD

Special pounders were used to crush the fresh water shrimps which were fed to infants as a purgative before they were suckled for the first time. (See Pl. LIV, *C*.) They are smaller than the *popoi* pounders, and have an oval instead of a round base, only slightly concave sides, and no distinct neck. The top is oval in cross section and usually projects slightly beyond the body at either end. In the best made specimens the top is usually slightly hollowed along its center, but in one specimen it is smoothly rounded. In using these pounders, the body of the implement was grasped in the hand with the index finger extending lengthwise over the top, and the shrimps were crushed with a grinding motion rather than direct blows.

SALT POUNDERS

Certain small pounders are said by the natives to have been used for grinding coarse salt left in hollows of the rocks by the evaporation of sea water. These appear to have been fairly common in the island of Nuku Hiva but are rare or lacking elsewhere in the Marquesas. They are characterized by a long, thin headless neck, or body, which flares out rather abruptly at the base. The base is either round or oval. (See Pl. LIV, *D*.)

CHILDREN'S POUNDERS

A few very small pounders which were seen in the Marquesas were said to have been toys; although, as some of them showed considerable wear, they may

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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226 captive. Surplus fish were either sun-dried or salted. The Mar-
[263] quesans, unlike the other Polynesians, attached a tremendous value to salt and combed the rocks around the cliffs for it.

272 Mention should be made also of kava, a narcotic drink made
276 from a root, which was chewed up, usually by the boys and girls, as they had better teeth than their elders, spat into a bowl, and fermented. Its effects were mild. The drinker became extremely sensitive to sounds or disturbances, and desired to be let alone. Kava parties were not convivial affairs; the participants after two or three cups of kava each, settled back comfortably and talked very little. Since there was very little land on which the kava root could be raised, the drink was a luxury and reserved for the household heads.

266 The last item in connection with food is cannibalism. In the old days the Marquesans were vigorous cannibals, and from my talks with the old men who had indulged in the practice, I am convinced that, while there was ceremonial cannibalism, there was also eating of human flesh because they found it good. This is one of the few regions where women were permitted to eat human meat. Although there was eating of enemies because of revenge obligations, there was also plain meat-hunting of enemy tribes for food, especially at times of food shortage. Another indication that cannibalism was not merely ceremonial is that these people ate everyone from infants up. The purpose of ceremonial cannibalism is to absorb the good qualities of the individual one is consuming, but the Marquesans had a preference for children too young to have attained admirable qualities. There were also stories of man-eaters, people who developed a pathological fondness for human flesh. Such a man would kidnap children of his own tribe or even kill and eat his own
[731] wife or children. There was ordinarily no cannibalism within the tribe, although in times of extreme famine an inspirational priest might designate certain victims who would be killed and
[782] eaten. Sacrifices to the gods were not eaten, the idea being that the entire individual was left to be consumed by the gods. Revenge victims, however, were always eaten.

/91 cont./

sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; nevertheless, breasts are of relatively small importance when compared with genital qualities.

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not specific as to the practices involved.

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. Marquesan legends (Handy 1928) make frequent reference to the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individuals. Numerous references are also available to native cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S. Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished considerably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics. Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of 'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except in food, where it is used as a flavoring.

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together; the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy, pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious